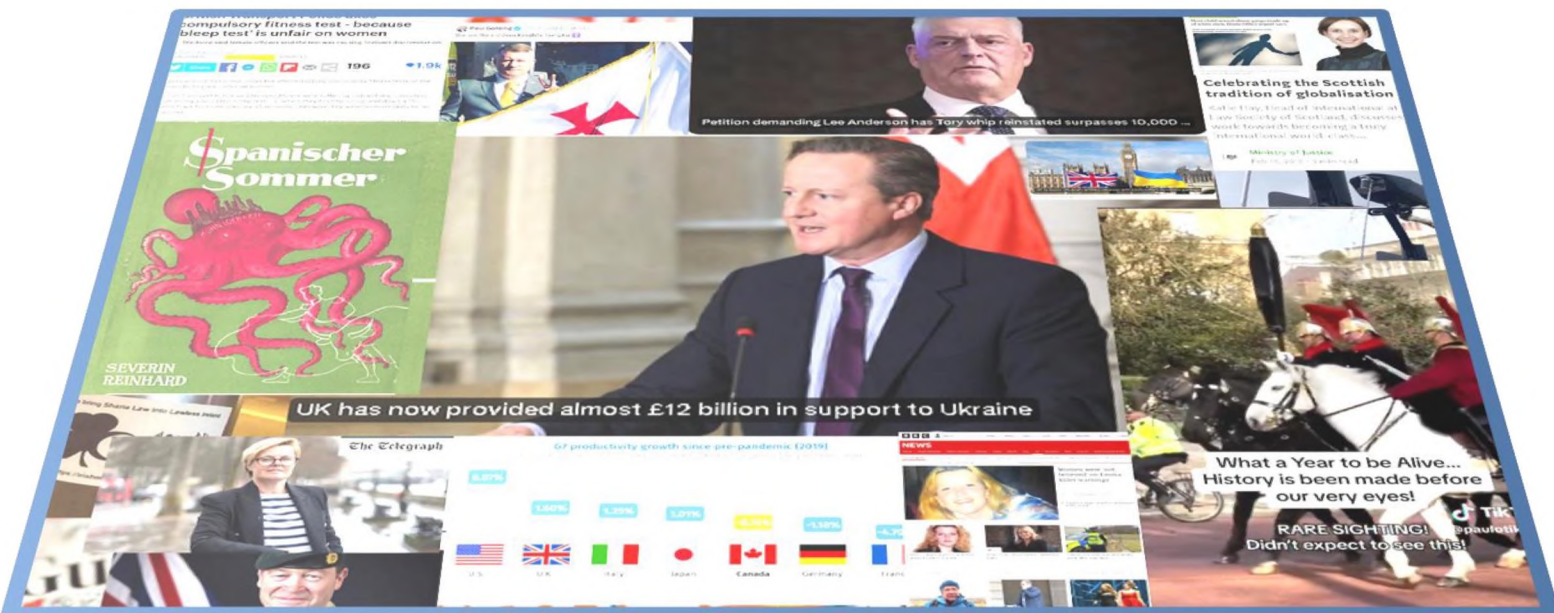


THE C.H. DOUGLAS CREDITER

FOR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC REALISM

THE REAL LINE OF DEMARCATION IN THE
WORLD IS CULTURAL, NOT ECONOMIC.



PRESERVING Anglo-Saxon and Goidelic culture II *By Norman F. Webb*

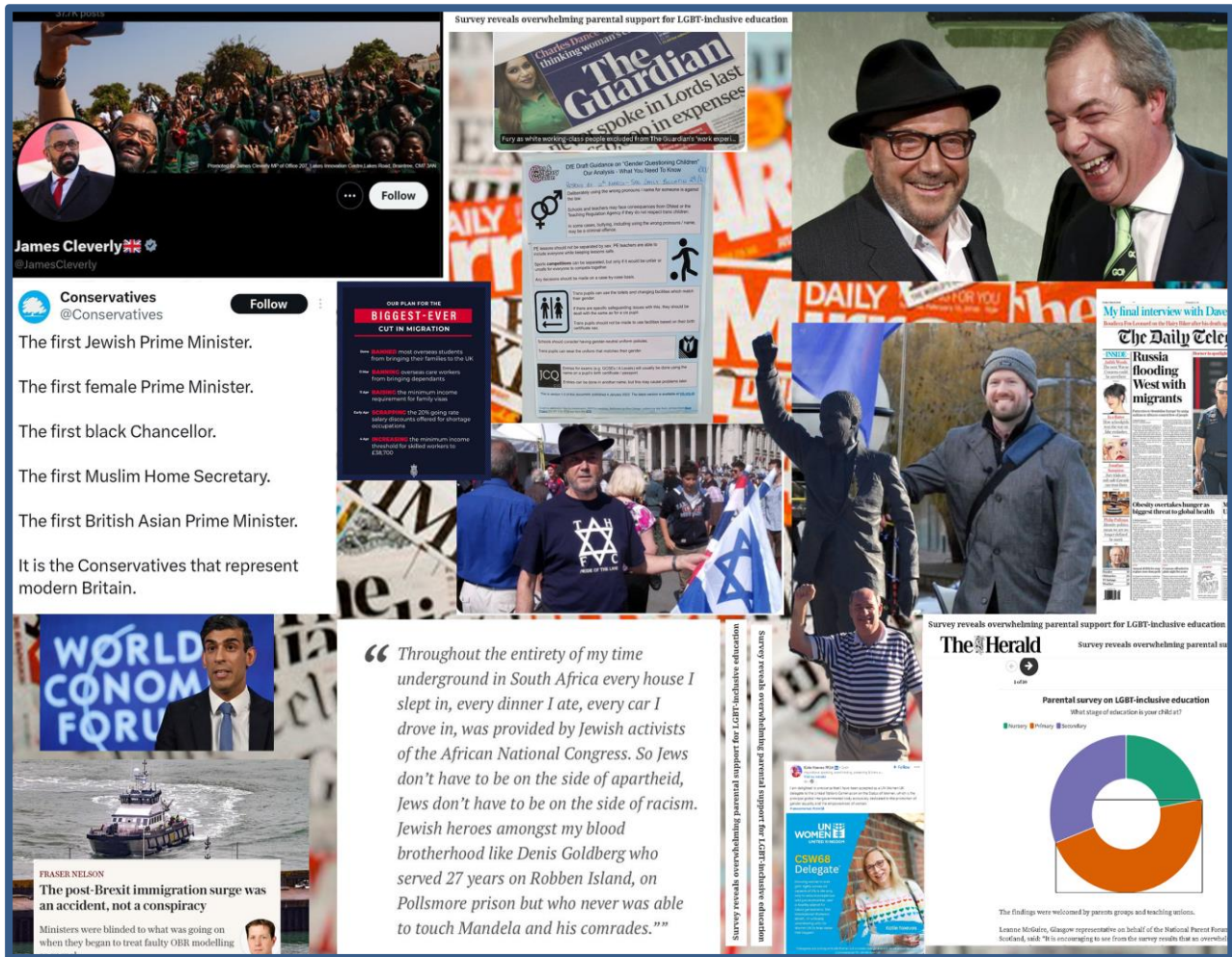
THE BRIEF FOR THE PROSECUTION *By C. H. DOUGLAS* **CHAPTER VI**

THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE NATION *By John Mitchell*

CONSERVATISM AND CAPITALISM *By Aubrey Jones*

LIBERALISM, SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM *By W. L. Burn*

FROM WEEK TO WEEK



“We believe this island is the great obstacle for the triumph of the world dictatorship; that the destruction of our Freedom to Live and Defend it are the first objectives; and that five of our main defences are already penetrated (see Tiding, Dec, 14, “milestones”) The attack on the ninth great defence— impartial justice, probably the greatest— appears to be in process.” Douglas Reed, 1946.

It is daily becoming more obvious that there is very, very Big Money behind not only the agitation being spewed out by the mainstream media —not only in the so called Daily “Press” News headlines and the advertising propaganda against Organic Briton, which is inseparable; but, the Bureaucracy itself. The collapse of “impartial justice” for the native Briton, furthered highlighted this week by the “Far Right” political activist Sam Melia conviction. His wife’s plea for no prayers at this time, the only silent weapon that the enemy really fear is a further reminder how far native culture is being bewitched by Dialectical Materialism. We have no doubts that “appropriate official circles” in this country were behind Melia’s sentence and that the “Bread and Circuses” By Election victory of “Workers Party of Britain” Mr. George ‘This is for Gazza’ Galloway is being assiduously cultivated by the same occult sources.

...

You must be delighted with your forced Affirmative Action Candidate Dave? His sorry State of the Union pro Democ’razi, Rochdale, and the bogeyman “Far Right” fallacy must have brought a wee tear to your crocodile eyes; on putting yet another one over genuine British Conservatism.

Time

“Time is the stuff of which life is made.” Perhaps it is the only basis upon which we base what we call optimism.

It is of vital importance to realise the balancing effect that time has upon everything we do, With steady perseverance of action towards any objective, we shall in *time* achieve our goal, both individually and in association.

I think all impatience, impetuosity and burning enthusiasm are due to a lack of understanding of the *time* element, and awareness of its- far-reaching consequences.

Just as it takes time to go from one place to another, so it takes time to go from one point, of view to another— even if we can see the point quite clearly from a distance.

Is this fact commonly taken into account? I do not think so. ‘Certainly not by adolescents: perhaps it is one of the peculiarities of maturity.

It is so terribly easy to try and hurry the thoughts and actions of others. It is so terribly difficult to hurry and jostle oneself.

What is of extreme importance with regard to time, is that we should ally ourselves to organic growth and, like a gardener, help and be helped by the irresistible forces? Of nature. (And *what* forces!). . But it takes time to discover \ in human growth wherein the forces lie.

Anyone can grow roses if they know how!

A.C. J.

PRESERVING ANGLO-SAXON AND GOIDELIC CULTURE

(II)

BY NORMAN F. WEBB

First Published 1942

“Detached investigation has convinced me, firstly that **the real line of demarcation in the world is cultural, not economic**, and that economic inequality is consciously produced and employed to provide troops for an attack on Anglo-Saxon (and **Goidelic**) culture.”

C. H. Douglas

If the above statement is correct it follows that a world war of such dimensions as the present, must be fundamentally a war of cultures. Properly to assess the chances, then, we must leave theory alone and come down to practice, to biology and experience.

Following this line of thought in the previous article under this title, comfort was found in Britain's fumbling attempts at centralisation-in fact, in her failure to accommodate herself to totalitarian organisation. It may be a somewhat humbling form of comfort, but surely it must be obvious that if anything positive is to emerge from the howling blunders of the present conflict, it will be a humbling of intellectual pretensions of some kind, or nothing.

The hope of the English-speaking people, or rather, the hope of the individual, which embraces the whole of civilisation, lies in the

genius of the Anglo-Saxon stock. That is not a racial boast, but simply the logical outcome of the fact that, for good or ill, Anglo-Saxon culture is based on the individual, and not on either race or state, and that ethnologically there is only one true universal unit, the human individual, and a culture to be in the least susceptible of universality must be on that basis.

Totalitarian, or state culture is of its nature exclusive and not inclusive. Its comprehensiveness is the same kind as that of the young cuckoo in the sparrow's nest. Such is its habit.

Our hope, then,-and if we are modest enough to be able to perceive it, a very considerable one-is to be derived from the spectacle of Britain, in spite of strenuous and prolonged efforts to convert her to totalitarianism, remaining substantially true to her own genius and her own culture; since it is a biological fact that an organism survives a crisis in its own way, or not at all.

But what guarantee is that of ultimate victory, it might be asked--of preservation? May the Axis Powers not also remain true to their genius? Undoubtedly. But in a war of culture the issue is finally a question of realism in its truest sense. Are we-is British culture-more realistic than the Germans?

That is the question. Has decentralisation of initiative and control any practical advantages over centralisation? In short, is Anglo-Saxon culture, comprehending as it does, the individual point of view not as a secondary, but as a primary element, something closer to Reality and what we call God, than that of the

Axis Powers; and therefore, and for that reason alone, containing superior survival value?

It is not really far-fetched, in view of the developing scope of World War No. 2, to suggest that the issue is in fact between Christianity and-it must be 'Paganism,' whatever interpretation we give that term. They stand for two opposed conceptions of the universe and its Government, civil and mental.

The ancient world conceived of only one power, and only one form of Government, that of physical force, threat and punishment. In fact there was no practical - alternative, until the advent of Christianity. This advent took the form of the discovery and demonstration of a new force, not physical as physics had been understood up to then-but what the Greeks, for want of a better word, called metaphysical. Christianity was an assertion and demonstration of the supremacy of this force, and of its indestructibility.

It is more than nineteen hundred years since this discovery impinged on human consciousness, and most, if not all, of Western history has consisted in the reactions it produced in the ancient Graeco-Roman civilisation of Southern Europe and the Germanic and Scandinavian races. In one sense they impressed themselves on Christianity almost as much as it impressed them; the resulting amalgam being typified in that territorial abstraction known as the Holy Roman Empire.

In one country, however, from which the Roman influence had receded, a social structure grew up and matured under influences predominately Christian, and that was in the British Isles, and pre- eminently in Anglo-Saxon England. So that culturally, in the true biological sense, the British stock

came to be the outstanding, and most complete racial embodiment of Christianity, functioning in practical and organic harmony under their own typical constitution.

Whether by accident or design the English-speaking people came to tame and populate the waste spaces of the earth, till that small race of stalwart Christians grew into the most widely scattered and prosperous nation ever known, engendering in the process, as such achievements always do, envy, and malice, and fear in the minds of less favoured nations.

Now, with the last, and this war, comes the testing time, not so much of the British Empire, which is really a political abstraction, as of Christianity itself, embodied in Anglo-Saxon culture. Men are to have proof whether, as it asserts, Christianity is not merely a form of religious worship, -but the Truth-natural realism, against which, and without which, organised physical force, either in the form of the centralised military power of the totalitarian states, and upon the Home Front, now and subsequently, under the name of Socialism (which is governmental centralisation) is relatively impotent.

British culture constitutes a genuine biological advance. It is not the case of just another Babylonian, or Roman, or Spanish Empire; a national uprising, and growth and decay on the well-tried and self- destructive principle of centralising control of administration-the Trade Cycle in terms of society; but a break-away in a wholly new direction. No repetition, but an entirely new experiment in life and politics, under the influence of a wholly untried force, or principle.

It would seem that in the face of the magnitude of the crisis which confronts all society, no less a conception of the issue is adequate; nor of the potential position and responsibility of Britain towards it. Although under the increasing pressure of misapplied and manipulated financial credit, particularly in the last twenty or so years, the last vestiges of any condition in which Christian practice might be supposed possible, appeared to be fast fading, yet the hopeful and acute eye may discern under the stress of World War No.2 what looks like a true Christian core in British

nature in process of being exposed. If this is so, then it all depends on whether Christianity itself is realistic. As a practical motive force behind men's actions, is it nearer to Reality in every sense, than the limited Pagan conception of physical force? Upon that point, and our ability to be true to our own national genius, rests the issue for us, and for the whole world.

January 24, 1942 "Come the three comers of the world in arms, And we shall shock them; nought shall make us rue, If England to itself do rest but true."

THE BRIEF FOR THE PROSECUTION

BY C. H. DOUGLAS

CHAPTER VI

It will be realised that the re-establishment of the Gold (Exchange) Standard was the culmination of a considered policy of restriction, carried out by the visible Government with, for the most part, Mr. Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister, but obviously inseparable from the covert control of the Bank "of England." An intrinsic feature of it, if not its primary objective, was a reduction in wages and salaries, not perhaps so much in rates as in total earnings. With this, in the no*future' things, went a weakening of the bar gaining power of organised labour.

It is easy to comment that this attack upon "Labour" was scandalous and indefensible, and if a sufficiently comprehensive view of the whole social and economic system be taken, this is true. But it must be remembered that the Labour Movement was not so much, as it once had been, a wage negotiating body; it had become under international influence a revolutionary political organisation openly claiming the right and the intention to substitute Marxian Socialism for what, without understanding the term, it designated as "Capitalism." The ordinary employer, by which is meant the small and medium sized

industrialist of the older type rather than the directors of "public" or inter national companies or cartels, was forced, in many cases against his desire, into a position of antagonism to his employees because it became obvious that industry was being transformed into a battleground of politics, in which he was being attacked without scruple, - not only by the Trades Unions, but by the financial cartels, both aiming at monopoly.

Neither the individual workman, nor his employer, had the time or opportunity to realise that they were equally catspaws of a common enemy, and that their legitimate grievances were being used to stampede them into a common ruin.

It is necessary to appreciate this situation before the background of the next phase' and its bearing on the under lying policy can be seen to be coherent. The General Strike of May 3-12, 1926, ostensibly developed from a failure to adjust the situation arising from the termination of the subsidy, which amounted to about £24,000,000, paid to the coal industry—a subsidy which had been granted under perhaps the most inept handling (as it appeared) in the records of Government. After having stated that under no circumstances would it be paid, the Government suddenly reversed its decision, agreed, under the most nebulous stipulations, to pay a subsidy, and simultaneously proceeded, with open preparation against a general-strike, which could be provoked at any moment by withdrawing the subsidy.

In 1920 a Royal Commission under the Chairmanship of Mr. Justice Sankey, a Socialist, had investigated the conditions obtaining in the Coal Industry, and certain witnesses had recommended the nationalisation of coal. It was commonly stated that the pressure towards this object, together with that for the nationalisation of railways, proceeded from international loanmongers who wished to have tangible assets, rather than mere taxing power, behind

the large amounts of British Debt which they held. At that time, the proposal was not implemented.

On March 10, 1926, the Coal Commission under the Chairmanship of Sir Herbert Samuel, issued its report recommending *inter alia* that the State should buy the coal from the mineral owners compulsorily, on very advantageous terms, paying for it in paper money, and that the miners should accept a reduction in wages. The Chairmanship of this Commission, and its recommendations (particularly its emphasis on the principle of property in coal) should be borne in mind in connection with the Mond-Turner negotiations to which reference will later be made, the amalgamation of Brunner, Mond and other chemical concerns into Imperial Chemical Industries, the Chairmanship of the Fuel Research Board (Governmental) by the Chief Chemist of Imperial Chemical Industries, the acquisition of the coal from the mineral owners under the Coal Act of 1938 which took place in July 1942, and the general drift towards the adoption of a Cartel-Trades Union "Democracy," in which the ordinary individual, and even his House of Commons, become an unimportant factor awaiting absorption or elimination. The Miners' Federation rejected all that part of the Report which affected them, but supported, without understanding, the "nationalisation" of coal.

The details of the negotiations for a settlement of the coal dispute, which were without effective result, are outside the scope of this survey. They are available in the *Annual Register* 1926, *The General Strike* by Sir John (now Viscount) Simon, the pages of *Nature* for 1926 and else where. It is almost certain that in fact neither side wished for agreement—the Miners Federation, which was infested by alien influences, was deluded into believing that a general strike would bring the country to its knees; the shadowy influence behind the Mining Association (the Colliery owners, perhaps as stupid a body of men as industry

could show) - knew quite well that a general strike was certain to fail unless it developed into armed civil war, and that the way would be opened to further centralisation. In spite of the fact that both sides made a great display of legality, the only fact which was ever in dispute was the extent to which in the last resort, the armed forces of the Crown could be employed to defeat the strikers.

A Royal Proclamation declaring a State of Emergency as contemplated in the Emergency Powers Act of 1920 was issued on May 1, and on May 3 the General Strike came into effect. Official negotiations between the Government and the General Council of the Trades Union Congress, who were directing the strike, were completely abortive.

Sir Herbert Samuel was apparently in Italy during the negotiations which preceded the Strike, but on its declaration at once returned to England and began "unofficial" negotiations for a settlement—on the face of it, with no special qualifications for intervention.

On May 11 Sir Herbert Samuel laid before the T.U. Council the Draft of a Memorandum the adoption of which would, he thought, promote a settlement of the coal dispute.

It contained nothing which was not expressed or implied in the Coal Commission Report, other than minor adjustments in timing. The 'Council laid the memorandum before the Miners' Executive the same day, with a statement that in their opinion it contained "the best terms which could be obtained to settle the present crisis in the coal industry." The Miners' Executive quite naturally rejected the proposals, as representing no advance on a situation they had previously refused to accept. Nevertheless, the T.U. Council wrote Sir Herbert Samuel that in their opinion, the memorandum offered a basis on which negotiations might be renewed, and in consequence, they were taking the necessary measures to end the General Strike. A deputation called on the Prime Minister to inform him to that effect,

and on May 12, the Strike was called off. The Miners were, of course, furious and continued their own strike, with a good deal of support from the railway unions.

The General Strike was broken. Sporadic and sectional strikes continued for some time, but the sectional Trades Unions emerged impoverished and humiliated, and nervous of their ability to maintain their privileges. Two facts stand out clearly in retrospect. The General Council of the Trades Union Congress seized, or were handed, the initiative and control of the whole of the militant trades union movement and centralised it. And the Coal Commission Report was embedded in the settlement (despite the fact that no party to the dispute accepted it) in such a manner that it might be contended that the Government was committed to the implementation of it. The ground was prepared for the next step—the founding of Imperial 'Chemical Industries, whose major raw material is coal, and the Mond-Turner negotiations between Sir Alfred Moritz Mond who had become a Conservative in 1926, afterwards the first Lord Melchett, and Benjamin Turner, afterwards Sir Ben Turner, C.B.E.

Benjamin Turner was by trade a weaver; he was Chair man of the Labour Party in 1911, a critical year, Chairman of the Trades Union Congress, 1928, Chairman of the Trades Union 'Congress General Council (the body which had negotiated with Sir Herbert, now Viscount Samuel, in 1926) and a Labour M.P. He was given an O.B.E. in 1930, and created a knight in 1931. Since his conference with Mond, the T.U.C. has never authorised a strike,

In order to trace the thread of long-term policy in the events we are discussing, it is necessary to give to the care of Alfred Moritz Mond somewhat more extended consideration.

In passing, it may be observed that steady and continuous propaganda in Labour circles had been devoted to an attack on the private ownership of coal. Most individual miners, besides being convinced that “the coal belongs to the people,” were under the impression that the owners’ royalty decreased the miners’ wages, and greatly increased the cost of coal to the consumer. There is no justification for any one of these ideas.

There is in existence a Scottish charter, dated A.D. 1202, in which the superior grants the lease of certain collieries in Newbattle, and the right of the landowner to dispose freely of his coal has never since been questioned, and was set out by Sir John Pettus in his *Fodinae Regales*, published in 1670. It should be particularly noticed *that property in coal has not been abrogated by the Coal Act of 1938. It has been acquired intact by force majeure* accompanied by a derisory compensation, and can be transferred to another owner either by lease or outright sale. Private owners of coal were heavily taxed. Coal now pays no taxes.

The actual royalty received *nett* by the private royalty owner rarely exceeded 3d. per ton, and was often less, as owing to the political weakness of the owners, forms of taxation which would never have been tolerated otherwise were imposed on the gross royalty. Since the acquisition by the State, the price of coal has risen by more than twelve times the old royalty.

TO BE CONTINUED

GIVE THE SOIL ITS TRUE PLACE

‘Experienced agriculturists have, again and again, written and said that we can grow our own food in these islands. The only straight path to this is that all children, urban or rural, should be taught the meaning of nature and the soil instead of urbanizing them. . . . ‘The soil should be given its true place, which is’ the first, in Press, film and broadcasting, and in our thought and life. Why should not boys be eager to tend sheep, cattle and horses? One of the many reasons for the disappearance of our flocks is that no one wants to be a shepherd. . . . ‘A complete alteration in education is needed to make us once more soil-minded if we are to live in a proper and right way. . . .’ (From a letter from Sir Alfred Munnings, the well-known artist, in *The Times* of March 15th, 1948.)

...

‘The Will of the PEOPLE!’

Great play is often made of this phrase by people, particularly Socialists, who clearly do not understand its implications. In certain quarters it is used, more often than not, to mean that on every specific subject the opinion or desire of the majority must be ascertained and must prevail. The problem is not as simple as that.

It is overlooked by these people that an individual is part of a majority in only a very few of his interests. If any one of us makes out a list of interests, tastes, desires, aspirations, dislikes and abhorrences, he will find that with the exception of a few very general matters he is in every instance one of a minority. For instance one man might be a lawyer, a tennis player, a ballet fan, a non-smoker, a port drinker, a grower of orchids, a motorist and a

wearer of fancy socks. In every one of these he would be of a minority.

The point to be observed is that in none of his requirements does he encroach on the interests or desires of others. To speak of the others as a majority is therefore quite misleading. The whole pattern of human associations consists of a few generally applicable master lines crisscrossed and hatched by a multitude of minor matters applicable to minorities. If a social organisation is to work satisfactorily this must be understood and the minority rights respected by the people as a whole. This is not to suggest that anti-social activities are to be tolerated, far from it.

An educated and conscious Democracy will quickly recognise such activities, and at the same time turn its whole weight into the protection of minorities.

Voltaire put it this way, when speaking to one of his literary opponents: “I disagree with almost all you say; but I would fight to the death for your right to say it.” It is significant that for many years the controllers of publicity have deliberately used the “others” to curtail existing rights or freedom of minorities. For instance not many years ago, when the authorities had decided to “soak” the “rich” a little more by putting exorbitant taxation on the use of motor cars, it was quite common to see as head lines to paragraphs such tendentious irrelevancies as “motorist convicted of fraudulent bankruptcy”; “motorist accused of bigamy”; “motorist embezzles money,” etc. At the time there was a clearly conscious campaign to create bad feeling in the minds of those who did not run cars towards those who did, for the sole purpose of injuring the latter without in the least benefitting the “others,” who found themselves jockeyed into the role of opposition majority. When that succeeded, another minority was attacked by artificially creating another “majority.” The master lines in the pattern previously referred to, on which almost all individuals agree, are probably all covered by

three desires, those of political security, economic security, and military security. Curiously enough these are denied the citizens of every “civilised” country in the world.

It is curious also that Socialists and Totalitarians in general, who are so free in their advocacy of the rights and duties of majorities, on every possible occasion advocate political non- x. existence, economic dependence, and military impotence. It does not matter that these are called by different names, *S e.g.*, one party, the right to work, an international police force.

done with water, main transport and so on. Provincial or Regional government should control Education from the age of two. The difference between elementary and secondary education should disappear. The Regional Government should also control drainage, regional transport, development of Garden Cities, *etc.* Districts might retain control of baths, cemeteries, streets (but not the naming of streets) and other very local affairs.”

“The Price of Freedom is eternal vigilance.”

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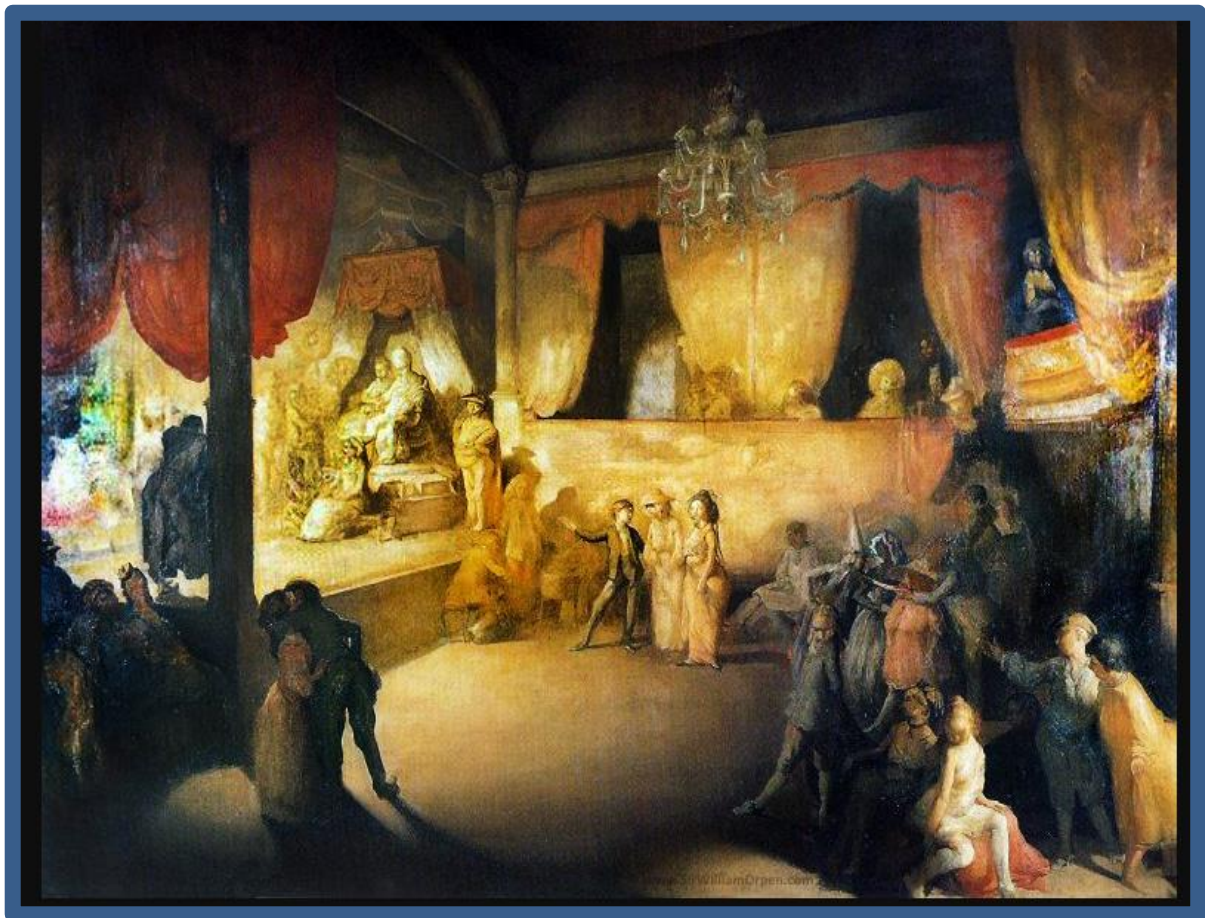
PLANNED FABIAN SOCIALISM

In 1943 on his return from America, after a lengthy speaking tour, on behalf of the “Ministry of Information” Emil Davies the Socialist Fabian Society High Priest, and, former Labour Party Chairman of the London County Council, speaking to a Fabian Society gathering about his, *i.e.* The Fabian Society—Labour Party, new proposals for the near future:

“The Powers of Government ought to be divided as follows: —National Government should control a lot of things now local, *e.g.*, Fire Brigades, formerly 1300 in number, had now been reduced to 37; the same ought to be

It is profoundly significant that what is now called Socialism, and pretends to be a movement for the improvement of the under-privileged, began as something closely approaching the Distributivism of Messrs. Belloc and Chesterton, of which the financial proposals embodied in various authentic Social Credit Schemes form the practical mechanism, although developed without reference to it. It was penetrated by various subversive bodies, *and perverted* into the exact opposite of Distributivism—Collectivism.

C.H.D



" THE PLAY SCENE FROM ' HAMLET, ' " BY WILLIAM ORPEN (1878-1931): THE PAINTING WHICH WON THE ARTIST THE SLADE SCHOOL DIPLOMA WHEN HE WAS NINETEEN.
(Oil on canvas: 68 ¾ by 86¾ ins.)

“Plus ça change, plus c'est la même chose.”

CONSERVATISM AND CAPITALISM

BY AUBREY JONES

(1947)

CONSERVATISM is charged by the Socialists to-day, just as it was by the Liberals three-quarters of a century ago, with lack of policy.

The charge has become a parrot cry, taken up from generation to generation, and those who utter it probably have little idea of what they mean.

Doubtless it is intended to imply that Conservatism has no positive objectives, that it knows not where to go, that its whole ambition is to cling idly and apprehensively to what has been. That, if true, would be a heavy indictment. But it is not true. On the other hand, the charge may be construed to mean that Conservatism, more than most creeds, is aware of the magnitude and complexity of problems, that it offers, accordingly, no final and complete solutions, that, rather than remake the world, it seeks only to repair a little here, remould a little there.

That, so far from being a charge, would be a commendation. For the attitude attacked represents the highest wisdom.

It has become the habit of many English people to trace all troubles to a material cause and to advance for their remedy some brand-

new scheme, some perfected organisation, a machinery of some sort or another. To those who have succumbed to this habit it comes easily to talk of and to call for a policy. It is this very habit, however, which it is the tradition and the duty of Conservatism to challenge. The root causes of things are seldom material; more often than not they are spiritual. And so far from its being true, as Marx held, that man's material environment fatally and inexorably determines his thought, it is man's thought rather which makes his environment. It follows that, when things go wrong, the first aim—the most difficult of all aims—is to effect a change of thought; and in relation to this aim the scheme, the organisation, the concrete proposal, the policy, in short, the outward form in which the thought clothes itself—this is subsequent and secondary.

England is undergoing a great crisis. Her pulse is slowing down, and in the scale of nations she is falling. But it is not a material crisis; it is not a crisis merely of fuel or of balance of payments. Nor is it caused by two world wars following swiftly upon each other. It is a crisis within her own mind, has been made by herself and has arisen from her own thought. She has been swept for the past 150 years by an individualist creed which, within her frontiers, broke all social ties and, without, sought to submerge the national identity in a nondescript internationalism. It is against this creed, known as Liberalism, that Conservatism has traditionally fought. And it is precisely this creed, at the moment when it stands most fully

revealed in its errors, which has now infected and weakened Conservatism itself.

The Conservative role is not one of doing nothing. It is the very positive one of reconstructing from Liberalism : on the domestic plane, of re-knitting the social ties, of bringing back the State into its legitimate functions, but not beyond them, and of interposing again between the individual and the State the associations which are alone a bulwark against State domination; in the foreign field, of reaffirming the reality of the nation. It is with the first rather than with the second of these two tasks that this article will in the main be concerned, not because it is the more important, but because it is the task on which Conservatives themselves are most unclear and the public most confused.

Capitalism, economic Liberalism, or economic individualism—the three expressions denote the same thing—is the product in England of a rapid and comparatively recent growth. It had been preceded by two periods, in the first of which the Church, acting as State, had, for the sake of morality, deliberately erected hindrances to the pursuit of economic gain—for instance, the prohibition of usury; and in the second of which the State, having asserted itself against the Church, still continued some of the Church practices and subjected industry to a central direction. Capitalism arose from the removal of this double restraint of the Church and the despotic State. It meant that individuals were allowed to follow the lure of profit without gainsay or interference by political authority. This was the outlook of our fathers and grandfathers, and was responsible for both the wealth and the harshnesses of the Victorian age ; it is this which has now been thrown into question and it is according to their attitudes to this that political parties nowadays are commonly but superficially judged.

Capitalism had this very great merit—it recognised that there are reaches of men's lives into which it is desirable that the State

should not intrude, that the State should observe limits to its claims and actions, that it should not demand of its citizens an exclusive loyalty, and that, while grouped in national States, men are also members of a world community and, above the world, of an immortal society. It is this central truth which the totalitarian Powers have to-day forgotten and which it is well to remember that capitalism contained. Life becomes intolerable if the State pushes itself in here, there and everywhere, if it lays it down that men shall worship and work in its way rather than in the ways of their own choosing. Very often indeed it prescribes to them the way in which they should work because this is indispensable to enforcing a worship of itself and its own grandeur ; a State which wishes to embark on a programme of territorial conquest, for instance, must first take direction of industrial production. Capitalism was right in repelling the State and holding it at a distance. The trouble was that it repelled it too much and kept it not only from over-intrusion but also from its rightful tasks of supervision.

...

LIBERALISM, SOCIALISM AND COMMUNISM

BY W. L. BURN

(1948)

THE British public likes above all things to be told that it is progressing, and if it is also told that it is progressing neither on the right nor on the left of the road, but along the middle, its cup is full. It was this comforting message which Mr. Attlee delivered in his broadcast of January 3rd. Socialism, for him, stands between a Conservatism * based ... on class inequality, private ownership of the means of life and the supremacy of the profit motive ' and

Soviet Communism, * a new form of Imperialism,' which threatens * the welfare and way of life of other nations of Europe.' Liberalism, he said, had fought for personal liberty and political democracy, but it had*failed to deal with the problem of economic freedom.* Communism, which had overthrown 'the economic tyranny of landlordism and capitalism,' was now providing a warning that 'without political freedom collectivism can quickly go astray and lead to new forms of oppression and injustice.' Mr. Herbert Morrison's speech on January nth was concerned with very much the same questions. He did, however, show an originality of approach by asserting 'I have never admitted, and I admit less and less, that the Communists are on the Left. They are on the Right.' It was curious, in one way, that this assertion should follow a tribute to the British Labour movement for taking 'considerable risks in utilising its industrial power soon after the Bolshevik revolution to prevent intervention against the Soviet Union.' In another way it was not curious. Mr. Morrison, as a propagandist, sees one step further than does Mr. Attlee. He sees the danger of Socialism being tarred with the brush of Communism; of the Socialist Party being half-ruined in a burst of public indignation against Communism : of its leaders appearing as the 'Guilty Men' of some future anti-Communist publication. Seeing this danger, he sought to meet it by the ingenious trick of labelling Communism as of the Right. This, of course, is an old trick, a species of political alibi. It has been used with great effect in relation to Italian Fascism and German National Socialism. Mussolini and Hitler might parade themselves as revolutionaries : the Left knew better. They were counter-revolutionaries and they must be made to stick to their parts. Even the fact that the only overt movement against Hitler during the war came in Germany from an upper-class group, Conservative for the most part

in the Bismarckian sense of the word, is allowed no evidential value. Hitler and Mussolini were of the extreme Right and the suspicion that British Socialists could ever have been found in their company was ridiculous. It would be equally ridiculous, in Mr. Morrison's view, that anyone could associate the Socialists with that ultra-Conservative, Stalin. The alibi is again in course of construction; although some of those who will in time seek to take advantage of it must do a remarkably quick change of political clothing.

The construction of the alibi, however, is not the end of the argument. Socialism cannot accept the position of being an alternative or even the best alternative to Communism : it seeks the position of being the only alternative. Sir Stafford Cripps has recently made two references to the danger of some form of totalitarianism. It was very difficult to discover his real meaning beyond the general suggestion that the present Government represented the only barrier against totalitarianism. Mr.

Morgan Phillips was more precise when, in the course of a speech on February 7th, he said : * If there should be a collapse in Britain it would mean the danger of an authoritarian Government because there is no democratic alternative to the Labour Party.' It is not the first time that this suggestion—or this threat—has been made. On May 9th of last year, Captain Julian Snow, a Labour M.P., was reported to this effect: * I see some form of totalitarianism threatening. If the workers of this country become convinced by Tory activities that the party system will not work, they may resort to attaining a Communist regime. If the Tory Party, on the other hand, should succeed with its wealth and its Press in securing the downfall of the Government it will, in the face of a Communist tendency in the country, emerge as a neo-Fascist party.' These speakers were not all of them

arguing in exactly the same way, but they were arguing to much the same effect. If the Government were to fall and Socialism were to be discredited there would be some kind of a struggle between Communism and Conservatism. There seem'- to be a hint (for Mr. Morrison's ingenuity still places him well ahead of the rest of his colleagues) that Socialism represented the furthest point towards the Right at which the * workers ' could be held. If Socialism were to be discredited they must inevitably move to the Left, to Communism. In any event, the party which emerged victorious from the Conservative-Communist struggle would impose a totalitarian regime upon the country. Whatever the steps in the argument, the conclusion is clear: Socialism is the only party whose government is compatible with the principles of democracy. Mr. Crossman, when he spoke on March 1st of a ' Communist-proof Socialist system,' was only omitting the argument and assuming the validity of the conclusion.

There is nearly always something amateurish about Conservative politicians, even when they are, or ought to be, professionals. The Socialist professionals behave as one expects professionals to behave.

They not only have the professional's organisation and capacity for sudden concentration of effort, but they have his sixth sense, his awareness of danger (danger in the sense of political defeat) before it is apparent. The Conservative Party, under Neville Chamberlain, walked straight towards a political ambush. As "*Lillibullero*" is said to have lost James II three kingdoms, so—without very much exaggeration—it may be said that 'appeasement' lost the Conservatives the General Election of 1945. The Labour Party does not intend to be trapped in the same way. Since increasing hostility between

Britain and the U.S.S.R. seems inevitable, since that hostility may even take the form of war, it would be the gravest tactical mistake for the Labour Party to allow itself to be associated with Communism. It must be in the position of the man who can say, when he is being questioned by the police, * Me do that job with Bill Sykes ?

Why, anyone will tell you we had a row in this very pub last week.' The Socialist manoeuvring for this position is not, perhaps, very edifying and the tendency to make Western Union a Socialist patent protected by exclusive rights is, to be frank, discreditable. Yet it would be doing the Socialists an injustice to believe that they are all engaged in taking political advantage of what they would no doubt have called, had they been in Opposition, a ' Red scare.' Many Socialists honestly believe that they do represent the only effective alternative to Communism. Are they right ?

In political theory and political practice this is easily the most important question of the hour. The threat of the extension of Communism is so grave that, if the Socialists are right in their contention, it might be the duty of even the staunchest Conservatives to abandon domestic opposition to them and join their ranks. This might be so even if the Socialists were not completely but were substantially right. Suppose that a man is suffering from a dose of a very dangerous drug which may be fatal unless an antidote is administered at once. Suppose that another drug is offered as an antidote, with the assertion that it is, in fact, the correct antidote and the warning that no other is available. Yet, in taste and appearance, this second drug seems to possess many qualities of the first. What is a man so circumstanced to do ? He must take or refuse the proffered antidote. If he takes it, it may kill him or cure him. If he does not take it he may die of poisoning.

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THE RULE OF LAW

"The primary concern of all modern dictators has been to gain the power over money. Then it is easy to abolish the rule of law. . . . Free nations are those which contribute their money and their labour freely, by choice, and not under the compulsion of the State." "If Freedom Fail," Edna Lonigan. 1948

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IN ENGLAND NOW

"The British Government has, after months of difficult work, succeeded in producing a Plan which provides for the people working nearly twice as hard as they did in 1939, but which prohibits the consumption by them of foodstuffs save in such dribs and drabs as will prevent immediate death." —Myles na Capaleen in "The Irish Times." 1948

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THIS SCIENTIFIC REVOLUTION

In an address on March 18, 1933—two weeks after Roosevelt's inauguration—C. H. Douglas said: "It is quite clear from these pronouncements [i.e., Roosevelt's violent attack on *bankers*] that the main lines of United States action in the present crisis are, firstly to remodel the American Banking system on the British branch banking system so as further to consolidate the monopoly of

credit in a few hands, and, secondly, by means of immense schemes of public works financed by loan credit issued by this strengthened banking system to induce both an increase of employment and a rise in commodity prices. The public debt of the United States will be enormously increased at the expense of the private debt held by the industrialists, and industrialists will be reduced to a position which will make it impossible for them to form a menace to the bankers such as they undoubtedly offered in 1929. At any rate in theory, this will result in raising taxation of various kinds to fantastic heights, but there is nothing in the physical situation to prevent the colossal overheads being scaled down periodically while leaving the banks in supreme control of the situation. There is one factor which seems to me not to be provided for in this scheme, and that is the impossibility of continuously employing the population of the United States without sabotage on a scale which can only be provided by war". But, of course, war was duly provided by financing Hitler.

And now, necessarily, we have the Cold War. It provides the sabotage which is indispensable until such time as a world police-state is achieved. Thereafter wealth can be taken from the "rich" Americans for redistribution among the "poor" countries. Let none think that statement is mere theorising: it is laid down unmistakably in the literature of scientific revolution.

The aim of this scientific revolution is nothing but all-powerful government, on a world-wide scale. The objective is power, and the maintenance of power means firing-squads and rationing. If many of our contemporaries know nothing of the Great Depression and the Great War, the revolution in 'Cuba is before their eyes. Cuba was a relatively prosperous country. Now it lies subdued by starvation and terror.

Garet Garrett says: "The Great Depression as it developed here was such an opportunity as might have been made to order". The only point he misses is that the Great Depression was made to order. It was contrived by the Federal Reserve banking system by contracting credit, with the objective defined by Douglas, above.

The *seizure* of power was accomplished by a co-ordinated series of steps in the first hundred days following Roosevelt's inauguration. Having seized the government, the revolutionaries proceeded to centralise economic power. They brought about a banking crisis. Writing of this a year later, Roosevelt said: 'Strictly speaking, the banking crisis lasted only a week. . . . But the full meaning of that word emergency related to far more than banks; it covered the whole economic and therefore the whole social structure of the country. ... It called for a long series of new laws, new administrative agencies. It required separate measures affecting separate subjects; but all of them component parts of a fairly definite broad plan.'

Under cover of the banking crisis (which had been brought about by a decree suspending all activities of banking throughout the country) a decree was issued requiring all persons and corporations to hand over all gold in their possession to the government, under penalty of a fine of twice the value of the gold, and imprisonment. Of course this was represented as a temporary expedient to "protect the country's reserves". People received in exchange paper money, which heretofore had been freely exchangeable for gold. But exactly two months later the obligation to repay in gold was repudiated. Six months later the gold was confiscated; Congress passed a law vesting in the Federal government absolute title to all of the gold; it was buried in Fort Knox, and there it remained. Money, henceforth, was anything the government said was money, and of no fixed value. The revolutionaries knew what they were doing. Congress did not. May God forgive it.

This opened the way to inflation and mounting taxation, by which personal financial savings could be progressively confiscated. This inflation was initiated by the immediate devaluation of the dollar at 59 *per cent*, of its former gold content. All this opened the way for the policy of full employment as a mechanism of government of the individual.

Parallel with this seizure and centralisation of economic power proceeded the massive expansion of administrative agencies (with powers of making their own laws and judging

in their own cause) for the functional control of individuals.

In the confusion of the "economic crisis" very few people could see at the time that a revolution was in progress. Congress did not understand, and, under the "firm leadership" of the President, rubber-stamped "his" decrees. Acts were passed making vast new executive powers "legal" : under these powers government by Executive Order was progressively extended: by the appointment of appropriate personnel to the Supreme Court, the very Constitution itself was altered by "interpretation". Thus was accomplished the revolution "within the form", with few the wiser.

But given the immense productivity of the American system, the difficulty foreseen by Douglas was bound to arise, and it can be seen that it did. On the other hand, the revolution in America can be seen to be part of a world revolution, once it is grasped that that revolution is a transfer of power from individuals and private enterprise to government and that that power is exercised from the top downwards through a pyramid of control which ultimately involves the individual "from the cradle, or before, to the grave". Parallel developments in all the major countries of the West, more and more approximating to the Soviet system in essentials, but cloaked in the superceded forms of ballot-box democracy, were evidence of the existence of an *international group*, exercising a progressive international sovereignty. Such a situation made the provision of war to further the revolutionary aim relatively simple. By financing militarism in Germany, and pacifism in Britain and France, a conflagration was made inevitable. The real objective of that war is evident in its aftermath and continuation—the Cold War to provide continuous sabotage until *visible* World Government is achieved.

That the policy being pursued by the U.S. is a supranational policy is testified to by the British elite revolutionary Professor Arnold Toynbee. Speaking at the Conference of Institutions for the Scientific Study of International Relations held at Copenhagen on June 8, 1931, he said: "I will merely repeat that we are at present working, discreetly, but with all our might, to wrest this mysterious

political force [i.e. national sovereignty] out of the clutches of the local national states of our world. And all the time we are denying with our lips what we are doing with our hands.”

So what are we faced with?

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THE INDIVIDUAL AND THE NATION BY JOHN MITCHELL

Anyone who has had even a limited experience of trying to organise a popular campaign of commercial or industrial work requiring numbers of men capable and willing to accept responsibility and exercise initiative, knows that the morale of the general masses in the country as been brought to a dangerously low ebb.

In the conditions prevailing in the world today-nations organised and heavily armed for war, led by bellicose dictators obsessed with a desire to maintain and extend their power, driven forward by inexorable circumstances which are the inevitable consequence of the mechanism by which they rule-if a nation is to survive either the threat of the holocaust of war or the holocaust itself, it is of first importance to have the utmost regard for its resources in relation to the circumstances of war. Regret and reluctance that this should be necessary there may be, but REALISM is the only practical policy.

But those who read this article are like the writer, not forgetful of the INDIVIDUAL. A nation is a collection of individuals; the strength of a nation is the strength of the individuals who compose a nation. And the strength of an individual is the measure FIRSTLY: of his morale and character, and essential, but secondary, the increment he gains in association, from his institutions.

Stated bluntly, if a nation is to survive under present conditions STRENGTH must be the immediate objective of the individuals who compose the nation.

There is no question that this is an objective to which the people of this country are agreed; and the reason is that on it depends their safety and their freedom.

The expansion of the physical requirements of this country in effective preparation for war necessitates not only an enormous increase in the expenditure of human and mechanical energy, but also the expansion of financial credit to enable this to take place.

It is a certainty that those who monopolise the creation and issue of financial credit will exert all the power which they possess to influence government measures in the name of "exigency" to penalise the individual quite unnecessarily as the terms upon which they will cooperate. The result of these "exigency" measures (e.g., billeting) will be demoralisation and their purpose the rivetting of a complete tyranny on the people by finance.

Such penalty measures, however, can only call forth tremendous resentment at the point at which their application is attempted; and the conditions thus generated will form the dynamic basis for popular demands having three factors negative in their resistance to the encroachment on individual rights; positive in a demand for a constructive alternative, and an overall fundamental and imperative need, not merely to create conditions in which public morale can be preserved, but in which it can be regenerated and strengthened.

There is the urgent necessity for all those who would enjoy freedom in security to assess the need and real meaning of the rearmament of morale, or as it is being called "moral rearmament."

There is also the need to take stock of the situations where during the next few months

the population of this country will be more and more concerned and involved in various popular demands, each objectively confined to a narrow point, but each pressing against the common wall of Finance, and each concerned with the security the rights and the morale of the individual in his relation to the security of the nation.

As a preliminary, two things should be noted; Firstly, that the REAL enemy is common to all; that the battle which is being fought is between the population of Great Britain and Finance, and not between a single small movement and Finance-the people are demanding, not a movement, hence the desirability to co-operate with other organisations, ..if they will assist in any way. Secondly that organisation will need to become more decentralised than it is at the moment, hence the need that local organisers should equip and prepare themselves to accept greater responsibility and use more initiative.

